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ON THE RELATIONSHIP OF HUAVE AND MIXE

By PAUL RADIN¹

THE Huave represent the remnant of a once powerful tribe which formerly occupied the region around the Laguna superior and Laguna inferior in the districts of Juchitán and Tehuantepec, Oaxaca, Mexico. At the present day they are confined to four pueblos, San Mateo del Mar in the district of Tehuantepec, San Dionisio del Mar, San Francisco del Mar, and Santa Maria del Mar in the district of Juchitán. A number of families are scattered through other pueblos, notably San Francisco Ixhuatán.

The linguistic affiliations of Huave have been the subject of some desultory investigation, but nothing was known of its grammar

¹ Table of sounds.

l = interdental lateral surd.

r = trilled prepalatal *r*.

t = interdental surd.

k = palatal surd.

p = labial surd.

d, *g* and *b* are the corresponding sonants of *t*, *k* and *p*.

n = *ng* in *sing*.

c = *sh* in *she*.

x = palatal spirant with articulation approximately intermediate between the Spanish *jota* and the German *ch* in *ich*.

ʼ = palatal aspiration.

ü, *û* and *ö* as described in text.

All vowels without diacritical marks are short and open, those with dot below are short and close, and those with macron are long and close. Vowels above the line form semi-diphthongs with the following vowel, but terminal *i* above the line indicates a palatal vowel.

In words quoted from Sr. Belmar's studies, I have retained his spelling, except that *sh* is generally changed to *c* and *h* to *x*. Belmar's *h* after vowels corresponds, I believe, to my *ʼ*. His vowels have their continental values.

NOTE.—The *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* had this article in type when the publication was interrupted by the war. It is hoped the Editors of that journal will not feel that their rights have been infringed upon by its appearance here.—EDITOR.

until Sr. F. Belmar made a study of it a few years ago. This he embodied in two works: a special volume entitled *Estudio de la Lengua Huave* which unfortunately I have not seen, and a section on Huave in his *Lenguas Indígenas de México; Familia Mixteco-Zapoteca*. In his summary to the section on Huave given in the latter work, Belmar rejects as insufficiently established the previous attempts to identify Huave with Nagrandan and Chiapaneco, and tries to establish an affiliation with Maya-Quiché, an idea that had been previously suggested by Orozco y Berra.

Orozco y Berra in his *Geografía de las Lenguas Mexicanas*, although he does not classify Huave linguistically makes the following remarks:—

Los Huaves son originarios de Guatemala; unos les hacen de la filiación de los peruanos fundándose en la semejanza de algunos costumbres, mientras otros les suponen hermanos de los pueblos de Nicaragua. La segunda opinión nos parece la mas acertada y aun nos atreveríamos á creer que el Huavè pertenece á la familia Maya-Quiché.¹

Taking up Orozco y Berra's hint, Sr. Belmar made a detailed comparison of Huave and Maya grammar and satisfied himself that the resemblances he found, bore out the former's contention completely. I do not feel, however, that Sr. Belmar has proven his point convincingly, for his resemblances are vague and of too general a nature. If, however, we are compelled to reject his proof as inadequate, there are undoubted indications, which I hope to discuss at a future time, of a relationship between Maya-Quiché and Mixe-Zoque, which would thus establish a relationship between Maya-Quiché and Huave, if my proof of an unquestioned affiliation between the latter language and Mixe-Zoque holds.

I will quote Sr. Belmar's proof in some detail, first in order to show the nature of his method, and secondly because his work is rather difficult to obtain.²

Las comparaciones que siguen demuestran la anterior tesis (*i. e.* that Huave is related to Maya-Quiché).

Número-el número en la lengua Maya se expresa por el sufijo *ob* que significa aquellos, como:

¹ Quoted from Belmar, p. 179.

² *Idem*, pp. 183-188.

uinic, hombre.
uinic-ob, hombres.

En Quiché, *ib* como:

ca-ib, dos,
cah-ib, cuatro.

En Huave aparece igualmente como signo de plural, convertido en *uf*, *uv*, como:

ihp-euf, dos,
ar-uf, tres,
ahk-euf, ellos.

Caso.—En las lenguas del grupo Maya-Quiché existe la partícula *ti* para indicar las relaciones del nombre. Esta misma partícula aparece en Huave, como:

tsëp ti ndiok, voy al mar.

El genetivo se expresa en Maya y Huave anteponiendo al nombre de la cosa poseída el índice posesivo *u*, como:

Maya: u-zuhal Pedro, el miedo de Pedro.
Huave: u-puit Pedro, el Perro de Pedro.

Posesión.—Las partículas posesivas del Huave siguen el mismo procedimiento que en las lenguas de la familia Maya-Quiché, prefijando los índices posesivos y sufijando al nombre, los índices de plural, *ob* en Maya y *uf* en Huave, como:

Maya: ca-yum-ob, nuestros padres.
Huave: ci-tet-iuf, nuestros padres.

Conjugación.—El sistema general de conjugación se reduce á anteponer y posponer al tema verbal verbos así como partículas indicativas de tiempo y de personas, como:

nacal in cah, subo.
bin nacac en, subiré.

El Huave sigue el mismo procedimiento, como:

tingel nahieng, bailo,
tsëp nahieng, bailaré.

El origen de auxiliar *tingel* parece ser de las partículas del Maya *ti* y *cah* y la *n* epentética.

La lengua Maya conserva dos formas de conjugación; una en que los índices temporales y personales se posponen al verbo, como:

nacal in cah, subo.

y la otra en que dichos índices se anteponen al verbo, como:

ten cambezic, lo enseño.

El Huave sigue el segundo sistema, como:

na kiechi, lo enseño.
mi kiechi, lo enseñas.

El pasado es la raíz verbal determinada en Maya por los prefijos personales, y en Huave con los prefijos *tsa*, *i*, *a*. En Zotzil, el pasado se caracteriza por la partícula *ilag* que se relaciona con el índice de pasado *a*, *i*, *u*, semejantes á los del Huave *i*, *a*. El Maya y el Huave distinguen las personas por medio de los pronombres posesivos, verificándose en las segundas y terceras personas de plural la encapsulación del verbo principal ó auxiliar, de la partícula pronominal y el índice numeral, como:

Maya: nacal-a-cach-ex, vosotros subís.
Huave: mi-hieng-er-an, bailasteis.

Verbos transitivos.—El Maya emplea la partícula *ic* para expresar los verbos transitivos, y en Huave aparece el índice *ch* con el mismo uso. El Quiché emplea *izah*, para indicar la compulsión, y en Huave se encuentra *yaak*.

Verbos frequentativos.—Ambas lenguas, el Maya y Huave emplean la reduplicación de sílabas para indicar los verbos frequentativos, como:

Maya: bacapkap, restregarse los ojos.
Huave: locloc, apedrear.

Numeración.—La numeración Huave es por decenas, contándose de uno hasta diez, de diez hasta veinte *gah*. El mismo sistema sigue el Maya hasta *lahun* diez, y de *lahun* hasta *hunkal*, veinte.

Comparaciones léxicas.

Algunas raíces persisten en las lenguas Maya-Quiché y Huave, como:

al, raíz *Maya* con la significación de *hija*, aparece en *eiabol Mame* y en *kual*, *Huave*.

aan, sufijo de pasiva en *Maya* se reconoce en el *Huave aran*. Se emplea como índice de participio pasivo en *Maya*.

amb, raíz *Huave* con la significación ir, se encuentra en *binel*, *Maya* en *bat Zotzil*. El pasado *ibion* del *Huave* se refiere al pasado *Maya cabinon*, *nos fuimos*.

kir, imperativo del *Huave amb*, guarda analogía con el *Maya-Quiche lik*, que también significarse.

ca, raíz numeral que significa *dos*, se encuentra en *ca Maya*, y en *ih*, *ig*, *ik* del *Huave*.

shuup bañarse, se refiere al *Mame Chuchan*.

tishuun, camarón, se refiere al *Mame chishum*.

achuck, besar, se relaciona con el *Mame, tzuban*.

zop, humo, se relaciona con el *Mame zip*.

chuuch, mamar, se contrae al *Mame chuuum*.

achul, mear, se refiere al *Mame tsal-in*.

uchiel, moler, se refiere al *Mame cheen*, y al Huasteco *tzel*.

shink, nariz al *Mam cham*.

kie, sangre, se refiere al *Mame chie*.

bi, raíz con la significación de *matar* se encuentra en *Mame bion* y en *Huave mbi*.
ha, *agua*, se encuentra en *aa*, *Quiche*; en *Mame a*; en *Huasteco iha* y *Huave*
yoof.

lei es común en *Maya* y *Huave* con la significación de *estar*.

The present study of Huave is based on a series of texts and detailed grammatical notes obtained mainly at San Dionisio del Mar and Salina Cruz from informants belonging to the former pueblo, and was undertaken as part of the field-work with which I was entrusted by the International School of American Archaeology and Ethnology in Mexico, 1912-1913. The Mixe data were obtained from Sr. Belmar's *Estudio de Ayook* and his sketch in his *Lenguas Indígenas de México*. For Zoque I have relied on Padre Sanchez's small sketch of Zoque grammar.

As far as I know, no one has ever hinted at a relationship between Huave and Mixe-Zoque. Most investigators seemed to have been convinced that the Huave came from Guatemala or Nicaragua and that consequently no resemblance was to be expected between them and their mountain neighbors. Yet even to the present day the Mixe and Huave are within striking distance of one another, a Zoque village being situated not more than fifty kilometers from the nearest Huave village, and a Mixe village not more than one hundred kilometers. The Juchitecos belonging to the Zapotecan family and differing only in negligible phonetic details from the Tehuanos, lie between the two. A cursory investigation of Huave and Mixe on the basis of material obtained at San Dionisio del Mar and Belmar's sketch, showed a number of grammatical similarities. To the points gleaned from Belmar's Mixe studies, were added a number of the most marked resemblances obtained from my Huave informant.¹

I shall discuss the Mixe-Zoque and Huave affiliations from three points of view, phonetically, lexicographically, and grammatically. Before proceeding, it might be best to state, in order to avoid all

¹ The writer succeeded in obtaining a vocabulary and about fifty pages of Mixe tales with interlinear translation from a Mixe living in Oaxaca, Oaxaca, whose home was in Juquilla-Mixe; but at that time he had not suspected any relationship with Huave and for that reason failed to get certain forms which would have been of considerable importance for this little study.

misunderstandings, that I am leaving out all mention of the lack of correspondence of the two languages under discussion, for the latter does not in any way detract from the value of the evidence here adduced.

Phonetics.—Mixe-Zoque has all the consonants found in Huave with the exception of *l* and *r*. Both of these sounds seem however related to Mixe *t*. Zoque *t* of the second person singular corresponds undoubtedly to Huave *r* of the second person singular.

The vowel system of the two groups corresponds in all details. Both have three umlaut vowels; *ö* between *e* and *o* in German *können*; *ü* as in German *Hütte* and *ü*, "pseudo" *ü* like *ü* with lips very slightly rounded. The latter vowel appears to result from the union of a very weak *i* with an accented *u*. Both groups have a large number of diphthongs. In Huave these are of three kinds; true, "pseudo," and "glide." Belmar enumerates fourteen in Mixe-Zoque but there are unquestionably more. Huave has about twenty-five. Both languages likewise possess rearticulated vowels.

One of the marked phonetic differences of the two languages is the presence of a large number of consonantal clusters in Mixe-Zoque and their complete absence in Huave. There are, however, in Huave a number of positional clusters.

Lexigraphic.—The lexigraphic resemblances are not numerous, apparently, although I am convinced that their number will be considerably increased as soon as certain sound shifts can be established. One shift seems fairly certain, that between Mixe *tz* or *tc* and Huave *k*, to judge from the following examples:—

Mixe	Huave	English
<i>tza</i>	<i>kan</i>	stone
<i>tzo</i>	<i>ko</i>	elder brother
<i>tök</i>	<i>tetc</i>	to break
<i>tzish</i>	<i>na-kĩats</i>	black

That Mixe *t*, in some cases, goes back to Huave *l* is also probable, compare for example Mixe *at* with Huave *al*, *to be*, and Mixe *te-k* with Huave *le*, *foot*.

Owing to the great differentiation of Mixe and Zoque dialects, a good deal probably depends upon the dialect of Mixe or Zoque

with which the Huave vocabulary is compared. The Mixe vocabularies of Belmar represent the dialects spoken in the districts of Villa Alta and San Carlos (Yautepec). It is just probable that a comparison of Huave with one of the Tehuantepec-Mixe dialects would yield a larger number of cognates.

The following words seem unquestionably related:—

Mixe	Huave	English
<i>koi</i>	<i>kuoi</i>	hare
<i>maa</i>	<i>a-mēi</i>	to sleep
<i>kahpm</i>	<i>kɨambā'</i>	pueblo
<i>tzitz</i>	<i>a-tcūotc</i>	to suckle
<i>poh</i>	<i>pūp</i>	wind
<i>tee; (teit)¹</i>	<i>tiet</i>	father
<i>tōōc (taac)</i>	<i>tā'</i>	mother
<i>netōōc</i>	<i>ntā'</i>	wife
<i>mīn</i>	<i>mīon</i>	to come
<i>ak</i>	<i>tak</i>	skin
<i>xui</i>	<i>a-ngüoi</i>	to pay
<i>xah</i>	<i>xaq</i>	to see
<i>mac</i>	<i>muc</i>	effeminate
<i>tek</i>	<i>tiuk (Belmar)</i>	
	<i>ndiok</i>	estuary
<i>uīn</i>	<i>unīa-k</i>	eye
<i>tzouc-k</i>	<i>a-tcutc</i>	to kiss
<i>ahk</i>	<i>a'k-üoi</i>	to be angry
<i>pöih</i>	<i>poā'</i>	flower
<i>tzoken</i>	<i>tcok</i>	ant
<i>(atzotz)</i>	<i>a-tsâts</i>	beard
<i>(unc)</i>	<i>niŭ-vendj</i>	son
<i>(nox)</i>	<i>nac; nüoc</i>	daughter
<i>xep</i>	<i>ŭ-cip</i>	tomorrow
<i>kaatz</i>	<i>a-ku'elc</i>	to cut
<i>ko</i>	<i>kŭ-mīon</i>	when
<i>paa</i>	<i>u-mbei</i>	shore
<i>pihp</i>	<i>pūp</i>	bladder
<i>mīsto</i>	<i>mīlci</i>	cat ²

¹ All the words in brackets are forms given by Quintana in his *Arte de la Lengua Mixe*. I was unfortunately not able to get a copy of this work, neither the old edition, nor the reprint of the Comte de Charencey and had therefore to have recourse to Raoul de Grasserie's edition of a portion of it.

² This may be a Nahuatl loan-word.

<i>pöntk</i>	<i>püendj</i>	gentle
<i>puc</i>	<i>a-püec</i>	to cut
<i>tu-k</i>	<i>tj</i>	in

It will be noted that quite a number of terms of relationship are in the list.

The main points of resemblance lie, however, in the grammatical structure of the two languages, more particularly in the personal and possessive pronouns in composition (the independent show but little relationship); the tense signs; the reflexive and passive voices; the causatives; and a considerable number of prefixes and suffixes.

Personal pronouns.—The personal pronouns are the following:—

Mixe	Huave	English
<i>n-, c-</i>	<i>n-, sa-</i>	I
<i>mi-, ic-, c-</i>	<i>r, i-</i>	thou
<i>y-, t-</i>	<i>a-, i</i>	he
	<i>n-on</i> , ¹	I and he
	<i>a-âr</i>	I and thou
<i>n-oim</i>	<i>n-ts</i>	we
<i>m-ta</i>	<i>r, i, -on</i>	you
<i>y-ta</i>	<i>a-öov</i>	they

There are a number of discrepancies between Mixe and Huave list of pronouns and Belmar's. First of all Belmar gives no dual forms either in Mixe or Huave. In Huave I know that they exist, and in Mixe, I strongly suspect them for I found two forms in the Juquila dialect, one consisting of the first singular *n-* and the plural suffix *t-* which is unquestionably the true first plural and another consisting of *n-* and the suffix *-ts* which to judge from my texts, is the dual inclusive. If we add to these two the *-oim* form obtained by Belmar we have three forms for the non-singular first person. To judge from Belmar's error in the interpretation of the Huave *-on* form (the exclusive dual) as the true plural, he may have made the same mistake in Mixe and thus his *-oim* may really be the exclusive dual, identical with Huave *-on*. I have no hesitancy in identifying the *m* and the *n* here, for while no such shift seems to exist between Mixe and Huave, it exists in the Huave sub-dialects,

¹ In the pueblo of San Mateo it is *n-on*. Belmar gives this as the first plural. I am placing it provisionally as exclusive dual.

San Mateo having *cikom* for the independent form of the dual exclusive and San Dionisio, *cikon*. As a matter of fact Belmar mentions three forms for the first person plural of the independent personal pronoun, *öötzatoim* on page 268 and *öötziium* and *öötzatoin* on page 266. The second discrepancy between Belmar and myself is in the Huave pronouns for the second and third singular which he gives as *mi-* and *ma-*. Here he has fallen into a curious error and interpreted the present-aorist tense element *m-* plus the true personal pronouns *i-* and *a-* as the pronouns themselves. He was probably led astray by the fact that a number of verbs always appear idiomatically with the present-aorist prefix.

The differences between the Mixe and Huave series of personal pronouns are by no means negligible, although the resemblances are quite patent too. Mixe *c* of the first singular is unquestionably the same as the Huave *sa-* for Belmar states that there is no true *s* in the dialects he is acquainted with. Mixe *ic* of the second singular may represent Huave *ik*, the independent form of the second singular. Huave *r-* hardly seems to correspond to Mixe *m-* but it is probably identical with Zoque *t-* and *tc-*, *m-* is however found as the second person in the Huave possessive pronoun for non-body parts. For the *t-* of the third singular in Mixe there is nothing comparable in Huave.

Reflexives.—Huave and Mixe express the idea of reflexivity in the same way and with the same grammatical element, Huave prefixing *ni-* and Mixe *nai*.

Huave	Mixe
<i>nierembĩ'</i> , you struck yourself,	<i>nai-otz</i> , I myself,
<i>nĩmbũ'el</i> , he burnt himself.	<i>nai-mitz</i> , thou thyself.

General nominalizer.—The Huave nominalizer *ni-* with the force of *that which*, *he who*, seems to be identical with the Mixe *-n*.

Huave	Mixe
<i>niüetaran</i> , that which is eaten.	<i>ahot-n</i> , hope (that which one hopes).
<i>nũpũ'p</i> , he who hunts.	<i>hah-on</i> , flame (that which burns).

Passive voice.—In the passive voice we find the following nominal forms:—

Huave	Mixe	English
<i>ci-</i>	<i>ic-</i>	I
<i>er-</i>	<i>m-</i>	thou
<i>i-</i>	<i>i</i>	he

The possessive pronouns.—Huave has a differentiation of the possessive pronouns which is apparently absent in Mixe. Of the two sets used in Huave, one is employed with nouns referring to body-parts and the other with all other nouns. The set used for body-parts is probably merely the modified independent personal pronouns *cik*, *ik* and *a'k*. That used for non-body parts is quite peculiar. The possessive pronouns of Mixe are the same as the personal pronouns.

The following are the Huave possessive pronouns:—

Body-parts	Other nouns	English
<i>ci-</i>	<i>ca-</i>	my
<i>i-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	thy
<i>a-</i>	<i>mi-</i> or <i>u-</i>	his

Tense elements.—There are four tenses in Huave; the indefinite, the present-aorist, the past, and the future. The indefinite has no tense element, the present-aorist prefixes *m-* to the personal pronoun. This *m-* is apparently lost before the pronoun of the first person *na-*. The past tense prefixes *t-*. For the first singular of the past tense *sa-* seems always to be used. The future tense is formed by prefixing *öp-* to the present-aorist tense form. *öp* apparently represents a broken-down auxiliary verb, for it is partially conjugated having *s-öp* for the first person, *üöp*, for the second and *öp*, for the third.

Mixe and Zoque like Huave have no tense element for the present. In the aorist it is *-p* for Mixe and *-pa* for Zoque. The past tense suffixes *-t* or *-ö*, while future suffixes *-up* or *-ut*.

It will be noted that whereas the present-aorist, past and future tense elements are prefixed in Huave, they are suffixed in Mixe-Zoque. However, I believe that these tense elements are to a certain extent independent verbal forms and that the prefixation or suffixation is of little morphological importance.

Causatives.—There are two causatives in both Huave and Mixe-Zoque, both of them likewise occurring as independent verbs.

Huave	Mixe	English
<i>yak</i>	<i>yak</i> (Sp. "hacer")	to make
<i>tü'p</i>	<i>tuk</i> (Sp. "echar")	to compel

Suffixes and prefixes.—The following suffixes and prefixes occur in both Huave and Mixe with the same meaning:—

Huave	Mixe	English
<i>a-</i>	<i>ai-</i>	before
<i>mu-</i>	<i>mo-</i>	supplication
<i>nga-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	negation
<i>mī-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	activity for another
<i>na-</i>	<i>na-</i>	aimlessness
<i>ak-</i>	<i>ak-</i>	entirety
<i>-ēi</i>	<i>ei</i>	reciprocity
<i>na-</i>	<i>-na</i>	repetition

e. g.,

Huave	Mixe
<i>a'-napī'on</i> , I foretell	<i>ai-ic</i> , foresee
<i>mu-ndī'om</i> , I ask beseechingly	<i>mo-noukt</i> , to supplicate
<i>nga-xü'ek</i> , he disappears	<i>ka-ic</i> , to despair
<i>mī-naxī'ot</i> , he works for another	<i>mu-ton</i> , to work for another
<i>na-napī'on</i> , he wanders from the subject	<i>no-yoi</i> , to walk aimlessly
<i>ak-angü'oi</i> , he pays entirely	<i>ak-xui</i> , he pays entirely
<i>na-pī'on</i> , he speaks frequently	<i>akotz-na</i> , to counsel repeatedly.
<i>apīongü'oi</i> , he converses with someone.	

A sufficiently large number of resemblances of vocabulary and grammatical detail have been given here, to make the supposition of chance of borrowing untenable so that the only alternative left, is the assumption that Huave belongs to the same linguistic stock as Mixe-Zoque.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY,
OTTAWA, CANADA